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II. — *On the Contributions of the Latin Inscriptions to the Study of the Latin Language and Literature.*¹

BY PROF. MINTON WARREN,

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

So diverse are the interests of modern life that it is to be feared that there are many people of ordinary culture who are indifferent or sadly skeptical as to classical studies making any real progress. To them the dead languages, so called, are as great, gloomy, silent catacombs, in which new passages, it may be, are now and then opened up, but which remain practically unchanged from generation to generation.

How often, when in search of a particular text in a second-hand book-store, have I been told by the omniscient proprietor, "Oh, sir, you know the texts themselves are always the same." And yet I find in two books printed only six years apart the same line of Varro written

psephístis dicite lábdeae et vivós contemnite vívi,²
and
ipseí scitis δὸς καὶ λάβ', id est : sívis contendite sívi,³

in which, although some letters are the same, no two words agree. I need perhaps hardly say that for the latter and later version or perversion of the MS. reading, Lucian Müller is responsible. Change, alas, is not always progress. Yet, if we turn our eyes back to the early years of the century, we can see that great progress has been made in the scientific treatment of Latin. In 1830 it was still possible for a patri-

¹ This paper was read on Friday, December 28, 1894, at the second Joint Session of the Philological Congress.

² See Bücheler's edition of Petronius, 1882, p. 167, frag. 48 of Varro's *Menippeae*.

³ See L. Müller's edition of Nonius, 1888, p. 95, under *Anticipare*.

otic German professor, Ernst Jäkel,¹ to discuss seriously in a book of two hundred and fifty pages the Germanic origin of the Latin language and the Roman people. The German *fenster*, for example, and the Latin *fenestra* are both derived from *finster*, and *oculus* is said to be a diminutive of *auge*, vulgarly pronounced *oge*.

Bopp, and Schleicher, and Brugmann, and Whitney have forever made the appearance of a book like this impossible. It is not, however, to the light thrown by comparative philology, but to the light shed from within, if I may so speak, to the help afforded by Latin inscriptions, that I wish to call your attention to-day.

Although many thousand inscriptions had been collected and used before the dawn of this century, Mommsen could still cry out in 1852, *Hodie iacent inscriptiones latinae confusae atque omni genere fraudis et erroris inquinatae*. In 1863 the first volume of the Corpus of Latin inscriptions appeared. To-day there are fifteen volumes, some of them in several parts and with supplements, while the total number of inscriptions edited exceeded several years ago a hundred thousand.

The work as originally planned is nearing its completion, and it is to be hoped that Mommsen, the great master, will live to see it finished. Finished, of course, in one sense it never really can be, and supplementary volumes will always be needed to include the new inscriptions constantly being found in every part of the vast Roman empire.

Three times in the last seventeen years Bücheler has published an article in the *Rheinisches Museum* with the heading "Aelteste lateinische Inschrift."² Let us hope that it is not the last time. The Numasios inscription, which some refer to the sixth century before Christ, now heads the list. May the next claimant to the title of "Älteste Inschrift" take us back to the reign of Numa.

The inscriptions published vary in length from a single letter to many hundred lines, but the shorter ones are by no

¹ Der Germanische Ursprung der lateinische Sprache und des römischen Volkes nachgewiesen von Ernst Jäkel, Breslau, 1830.

² Cf. *Rhein. Museum* 33, p. 486; 36, p. 235; and 42, p. 317.

means the least interesting. To the classical master not too jaded to cherish a zest for longevity, it is gratifying to know that a Greek teacher in Spain lived to the age of ninety-seven years without a pain.¹ It is refreshing also to turn from the pages of Juvenal and read that a Roman Julia lived with one husband for thirty-seven years without a complaint.²

Even an inscription consisting of but a single letter may not be without value. Thus the Greek alpha found under the middle toe of the left foot of the bronze boxer discovered some ten years ago in Rome, proves by its shape that the work was cast, not in Rome, but in Greece, and at a comparatively early period.³

Time will not permit our even glancing at the great contributions which inscriptions have made to our knowledge of Roman history, laws, and institutions. I propose to show by some illustrations how they help us in orthography and pronunciation, in the matter of forms and vocabulary and dialectic differences, and finally to touch upon their contribution to our knowledge of individual authors and to the body of literature itself.

1. In our current editions of Shakespeare the spelling is modernized, but the Shakespearian scholar will wish to know the exact reading of the first folio. Something similar is true of Latin. It is not necessary or desirable that school editions should reproduce the vagaries in spelling of different writers and different periods, but it is desirable that a critical edition should approach as nearly as possible to the orthography of the writer himself, so far as it can be determined. Not even to-day is this sufficiently borne in mind.

If there were time I should like to indicate here how the great Ritschl edition of Plautus, begun in 1848 and only completed in this present year by his pupils, was made possible by the careful study of inscriptions, but I will use a briefer and fresher illustration.

¹ Cf. Corp. II. 4319.

² Cf. Notizie degli Scavi, 1890, p. 356. *Iuliae felicissimae dulcissimae coniugi, quae vixit mecum sine ulla querella annis xxxvii.*

³ Cf. Lanciani, Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries, p. 397.

In the thirteenth letter of the first book of Cicero's letters to Atticus, all the editions including Tyrrell², 1885, and Boot², 1886, read *caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victimis*, but the first hand of the best MS., the Mediceus, has for *victimis* two words, *victum eis*, which some of the editors do not think it worth while to mention and which it is easy to call a corruption of the text. Not so! The letters are the very letters which Cicero wrote, only he wrote them as one word, and some later scribe, copying a MS. in capitals without division of words, recognizing in VICTVMEIS two well-known words, *victum* and *eis*, wrote them separately, but he copied faithfully the letters of his exemplar. I cannot give here in detail the evidence elsewhere found in MSS. for the spelling of *victuma* with *u* by Cicero¹ and other writers, but the important evidence is that it occurs in the Praenestine Fasti,² an inscription of excellent orthography, somewhat later than Cicero, while the derivative *victumarius*³ with *u* occurs three times in inscriptions.

For *ei* used to represent long *i*, as in *victumeis*, abundant evidence could be cited from inscriptions and from the MSS. of Cicero's letters, and I have tried to show elsewhere⁴ that in the Brutus of Cicero, § 191, where the editors all read *milium*, the reading of the MSS., *me illum*, points to the spelling MEILIVM, which is also found in inscriptions, I being read L as so often.

These things may seem trifles, but then scholarship is made up of trifles, and it is no trifle to vindicate character, even the character of a manuscript.

In Horace, Sat. 1, 5. 86, Wickham, with some of the other editors, spells the borrowed Gallic word for wagons *rhedis*, but the better manuscript authority is for *ruedis*, which spell-

¹ For Plautus, see Pseud. 327 and 329. In Cicero's Philippic, xiv. 7 cod. Tegerenseis has *victumae*. *Victumae* is read in Seneca Controversiae, xxv. 28, and there is a trace of it in Pliny H. N. 28, 11, where V (Sillig) has *victum*.

² Cf. Corp. I¹, p. 312.

³ Cf. Fabretti Glossarium Italicum, col. 1962.

⁴ American Journal of Philology, Vol. xiv. p. 238.

ing is confirmed by the curious epitaph of a dog found at Ricina, in Picenum, which runs thus :—¹

Raedarum custos numquam latravit inepte
Nunc silet et cineres vindicat umbra suos.

2. It would be easy to cite hundreds of examples where the orthography of inscriptions, an accent placed over a vowel, an *I* longa, a consonant or vowel doubled, a consonant omitted or inserted, throw light upon the pronunciation of a period, a locality, or an individual. I shall content myself with one or two instances.

Lindsay, in his recent work on the Latin Language, states that from the beginning of the second century A.D. we commence to find *b* and *v* interchanged in inscriptions. He neglects to notice that in an inscription found some ten years ago at Tegea, in Arcadia,² of the year 50 A.D., we already find *lebare* for *levare*, showing at least a local tendency, due perhaps to Greek influence, to this interchange of *b* and *v*.

That the *a* of *pastor* was pronounced long is proved not only by *paastores*, Corpus, I. 551, but also by the apex in *pástóris*, Corpus, X. 827.

Some people will never be convinced that Cicero pronounced his name Kikero, despite the fact that Plutarch and other Greek authors transliterate it *Κικέρων*, and that the Albanian has borrowed *cicer* from the Latin, keeping the hard *k* sound.³

Now an inscription on a vase in Gaul, of the sixth century, which has *officina*⁴ spelt OFIKINA, ought to convince us that *C* was at least not pronounced like *S*, and Gaston Paris⁵ has recently declared that all the examples quoted for interchange of *c* before a narrow vowel (not in hiatus) with a sibilant,

¹ Cf. Corp. IX. 5785.

² Cf. Ephemeris Epigraphica, V. 187.

³ Cf. Gustav Meyer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Albanesischen Sprache, p. 226.

⁴ Cf. Revue Critique, 1890, p. 212.

⁵ Cf. Acad. Insc. 1893; Comptes Rendus, XXI. p. 81; and Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 88.

earlier than the sixth century in Southern Italy, the seventh century in Gaul, are illusory.

3. But nowhere have inscriptions rendered better service than in the preservation of forms which would otherwise be either unknown to us or only scantily represented in grammarians and literature. Let me illustrate this briefly from the oldest Latin inscription found in a grave at Praeneste in 1887, upon a gold fibula. The inscription, the writing of which is retrograde, contains only four words, *manios : med : fhe : fhaked*¹: *numasioi*. In classical Latin this would be *Manius me fecit Numasio* (possibly *Numerio*). Nominative singulars, like *Manios*, of *o*-stems are numerous in early inscriptions. The accusative *med* can be paralleled from inscriptions and from Plautus, but this form shows how early the confusion between accusative *me* and ablative *med*, if confusion² it be, began. From the Oscan we might have divined that the early Latin had a reduplicated perfect of *facio*, but we should not know it except for *fhe-fhaked* in this inscription. This form also with its final *d*, in conjunction with other evidence, makes it probable that early Latin, like Oscan and Umbrian, differentiated the ending of the third person singular in primary and secondary tenses. The form, if retained in later Latin, would probably have become *fefici*, cf. *pepigi*, but it was displaced by *feci*. Finally *Numasioi* shows the original dative singular of *o*-stems, a form borne out by Oscan analogies, but supported in Latin only by the isolated notice of a grammarian³ which had been discredited by some modern scholars.⁴

Great care is sometimes necessary to be sure that these old forms really do exist in inscriptions. In the older linguistic

¹ Some scholars prefer to represent this by *vhevhaked*. For the quantity of the *a* and for the proper name Numasius, see Buck, *The Oscan-Umbrian Verb System*, *Studies in Classical Philology of the University of Chicago*, Vol. I. p. 164, which has appeared since this paper was written.

² Johannes Schmidt, *K.Z.* 32, p. 407, scouts the idea of *mēd* being an original ablative and thinks it contains the suffix *id* seen in Vedic *svīd*.

³ Marius Victorinus, *Keil*, VI. 11 f.

⁴ Jordan, *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1879, p. 241.

manuals down to 1887 you will find a genitive singular *Prosepnais*, which is eagerly equated with a Sanskrit genitive in *-āyās*, but a minute inspection of the Cosan mirror now in the Louvre, on which the form was read, reveals the fact that the curve which was mistaken for an S is only a wanton lock of hair straying off from Proserpina's head.¹

4. The number of new words which will accrue to our lexicons when the indices to the Corpus are completed will doubtless mount up into the thousands. The new epigraphical dictionary of Ruggiero, which has only advanced to CAT, although it includes only words relating to antiquities, has over fifty words not found in Harper's, some of them not in any Latin lexicon,² and of many words for which the dictionaries only cite single passages, the inscriptions offer several instances.

We should not know, except from inscriptions, that a maker of light clothing was called *vestiarius tenuiarius*,³ and many names of trades and occupations, of fabrics and articles of commerce are only known from inscriptions.

From confining our attention too closely to classical Latin we probably underrate the facility of the popular Latin for forming compounds. Inscriptions preserve some very interesting compound adjectives, e.g. *silvicolens* (cf. *silvicola*, Vergil), Corpus, II. 2660; *altifrons* in same insc.; *florisapus*, C. VIII. 212; *frondicomus* (Prudentius), C. VIII. 7759; *raucisonus* (Lucretius, and Catullus), C. III. 6306; *canistrifer*,

¹ Cf. Schneider, *Dialecti Latinae priscae et Faliscae exempla selecta*, Leipzig, 1886, number 53. Corp. I. 57. Ritschl, *Priscae Latinitatis monumenta epigraphica*, Tabula XI M, and especially the article by Choldniak, *Rhein. Mus.* XLII. p. 486.

² Cf. the articles on accomodator, acrolithum, adcumbitorium, adstator, adsumptus, aemobolium, aerumnator, agmia (= acmia, Harper), Agrippiastae, aluminarius, Ambisagrus, Ambrosiales, ambulativa, ampliator, anaglyptarius, anagnostria, anagones, analempsiaca, anatiarius, ancentus, Anigemius, annuculus, ansarium, antigradus, anularium, apparatorium, aptatura, aralia, arbitrix, archiater, archigybernes, archimysta, arensis, armamentarius, assidarius (= essedarius), assiforana, asturconarius, aviaticus, aulicocta, aureficina, auricaesor, aurificus, axearius, barcarius, baxearsi, blattosema, bucellarii, cacurius, calculatura, canistraria, cannophorus, characteraria, carnaria.

³ Cf. Georges, *Lat. Wörterbuch*, and *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1891, p. 166.

C. III. 686; *sistriger*, C. VIII. 212, v. 84; *castificus*, C. III. 686.

The Latin folk-speech was rich in diminutives, and some of these are hidden away in inscriptions. Thus for little grand-daughter we find five different forms, *nepotula*, *nepotla*, *nepotilla*, *neptilla*, and *nepticula*.¹

I have always thought that German, for poetical purposes, possessed a great advantage over English, in the freedom with which it coins diminutives. Who can translate "Röslein auf der Heiden" without missing something of its exquisite flavor? Did not the Romans coin *rosula*? Of course they did, but it is not found in classical literature, nor until the end of the fifth century in Dracontius,² and yet in an inscription in an out-of-the-way corner of Bulgaria, there peeps up a *roscida rosula*,³ rose-bud wet with dew.

Less than a year ago there was found in Spain a bronze bell, now in the museum of Tarragona, which gives a new diminutive term for bell, *cacabulus*,⁴ literally, little pot. With this the Spanish *cascabel* may have some connection.

Inscriptions also contain many words which are purely local. These are often of especial interest to Romance scholars. *Cacabulus*, just mentioned, is an example. Another Spanish inscription of Trajan's reign has the word *paramus*⁵ used of a desert plateau, and in South America to-day the Spaniards speak of a *paramo*.

Only a beginning has as yet been made in tracing dialectic differences. As early as the time of Plautus,⁶ the Praenestines, living only twenty miles away from Rome, were ridiculed for swallowing a part of their words, saying *conea* for *ciconia*, and inscriptions of that neighborhood illustrate

¹ Cf. Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, Bd. 145, p. 654.

² Cf. Dracontius, Hexaëm, II. 441, and De-Vit, Forcellini, s.v.

³ Found at Nicopolis. Cf. Corp. III. 754.

⁴ Cf. Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie, Oct. 24, 1894, col. 1188 f.

⁵ Cf. Corp. II. 2660. Also used by Julius Honorius. Cf. Riese, Geographi minores, p. 36.

⁶ Cf. Plautus, Truculentus, 690.

this tendency by such spellings as *Gminia*¹ for *Geminia*, *Ptronio*² for *Petronio*.

If the much vexed question of African latinity is ever settled, it will largely be by the aid of inscriptions, and a good beginning has been made here by Kübler³ and other scholars. Let me call attention to a trifle. A German scholar, Richter,⁴ has been at great pains to show that in Plautus and Terence the interjection *au* is used only by women. But in Africa a tradesman who has lost his wife does not hesitate to cry out in his grief,

Au miseram Carthago mihi eripuit sociam.⁵

6. In more than one way inscriptions throw light on Roman literature. We learn the names of poets and poetesses otherwise unknown to fame. We read that a certain Pomponius Bassulus,⁶ toward the close of the first century, translated plays of Menander, and that in 106 a boy prodigy of twelve, named Valerius Pudens,⁷ was crowned victor in the quinquennial poetical contest which had been instituted by Domitian, an honor for which the poet Statius vainly tried. We learn of a poetess, Pedana,⁸ and a poet, Diadumenus.⁹ An inscription found at Aquinum, the birthplace of Juvenal,¹⁰ yields us important facts about that poet. A Greek inscription found at Melassa (Mylasa) a few years ago establishes the praenomen of Tacitus¹¹ as Publius, and tells us that he

¹ Cf. Ephem. Epigr. 1. 72.

² Cf. Ephem. Epigr. 1. 92, and Sittl, Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache, Erlangen, 1882, p. 22, for other examples. *misc sane*, for *miscē sane*, is also found. Cf. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 518.

³ Cf. Archiv für Lat. Lexikographie, VIII. pp. 162-202.

⁴ Studemund's Studien, I. 2, pp. 415-420.

⁵ Corp. VIII. 152.

⁶ Cf. Corp. IX. 1164, *Menandri paucas vorti scitas fabulas*.

⁷ Cf. Insc. Neapol. 5252, and compare Teuffel, Romische Lit. Gesch. § 319. 3, for the poets Nardus, Q. Sulpicius Maximus, and C. Concordius Syriacus.

⁸ Corp. VI. 17050.

⁹ Cf. Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, p. 34, *Hic iaceo Diadumenus arte poeta*.

¹⁰ Corp. X. 5382. I am aware, of course, that some scholars deny that the Juvenal mentioned in the inscription is the poet.

¹¹ Cf. Bulletin de corresp. Hellenique, 1890, p. 621.

was proconsul of Asia probably about 112 A.D. Nothing made the younger Pliny so happy as to be named in the same breath with Tacitus. He notes with pleasure in one of his letters¹ that it was customary for them to be mentioned together in bequests, and, by a curious chance, considerable fragments are still extant of the will of Dasumius,² in which the names of Tacitus and Pliny stand side by side. Pliny himself, by reason of his benefactions to his native Comum, is mentioned in several inscriptions. But I must not linger longer over facts like these.

7. If the Romans hung 'odes upon hawthorns and elegies on brambles,' the hawthorns and the brambles have not survived to tell their story. Not so with the walls and stones. The number of iambs and trochaics, of hexameters and hendecasyllables which have survived the wreck of time is surprising. We have Saturnians that go back to the third century before Christ; we have bits of lyric that antedate Calvus and Catullus.³ Some of the verses preserved might have been written by Ovid or Propertius; some of them would have earned an English school-boy a flogging for their slips of quantity. In general, however, the obituary verse does not fall below the standard of that to be found in certain Baltimore and Philadelphia papers. It may perhaps be noted here that in both the modern and the ancient verse, metrical correctness is sometimes sacrificed to secure exactness in the statement of facts. Thus in the following tribute quoted from a newspaper,

God alone knows how we miss thee
In our home, O daughter and sister dear,
How for thee our hearts are yearning,
How we long thy praise to hear.

the second line is made too long by the insertion of *and sister*, to correspond to the subscription 'by her mother and sisters.'

¹ VII. 20.

² Corp. VI. 10229.

³ Cf. Bücheler in Rhein. Mus. 38, p. 474.

So it is a good senarius if you read
 quae dūm per annos bīs decem vitām gerit,
 but faulty if you read
 quae dum per annos bis XVIII vita gerit.¹

We find in these poetical inscriptions, quoted exactly or imitated with slight variations, verses from Lucretius, from all the works of Vergil, from Catullus, Ovid, Propertius, Tibullus, Lucan, and other poets.²

A lady traveller in Egypt, in the reign of Trajan, inscribed on the pyramid at Ghizeh these touching lines :—

Vidi pyramidas sine te dulcissime frater
 Et tibi, quod potui, lacrimas hic maesta profudi
 Et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querellam.³

Editors are agreed that the last line contains a reminiscence of Horace, Od. 3. 11. 51 f.,

Omne et nostri memorem sepulcro
 Scalpe querellam,

where some MSS. read *sculpe*.

To the music of Horace's verse and the rare felicity of his language some critics have been strangely cold, and his claim to the title of lyric poet has not passed unchallenged. In 1891 a vivacious Dutch scholar, Hartmann,⁴ went so far as to

¹ This line actually occurs with *vita* for *vitam* in Corp. VIII. 10828. See Bücheler, *Carmina Epigraphica* Fasc. 1, Leipzig, 1895, no. 110, p. 62. This excellent work, forming a part of the *Anthologia Latina*, was published after the reading of my paper. It contains only the Saturnian, iambic, trochaic, and hexameter poems. Another part is still to appear.

² The opening words of Lucretius, *Aeneadum genetrrix*, are found in a Pompeian inscription. The opening of the Aeneid, *Arma virumque cano*, is found in three Pompeian inscriptions and upon a tile near Seville. The beginning of the second book, *conticuere omnes*, is also found in Pompeii. The first two lines of the seventh book of Lucan are found upon an inscription in Trier. Sometimes the quotations or imitations are valuable for text-criticism. The subject might be illustrated indefinitely. See the notes in the ed. of Bücheler already referred to, and a subsequent treatment based upon this edition by Hosius, *Römische Dichter auf Inschriften*, Rheinisches Museum, L. pp. 286–300.

³ Corp. III. 21.

⁴ J. J. Hartmann, *De Horatio poeta*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1891.

deny that Horace's odes enjoyed any considerable reputation immediately after his death. As if to resent this affront, only a few months later there came to light in a modest house in Pompeii¹ two medallion portraits, one of Vergil, the other of Horace. Before Vergil is a volume of Homer; before Horace a volume inscribed with the name of Sappho, showing that long before Juvenal wrote his seventh satire, these two poets were associated in the minds of the people as the great epic and the great lyric poet of Rome. I need not here recount the story of the finding in 1890 of the long inscription containing the official record of the celebration of the secular games, which incidentally throws much light on the *Carmen Saeculare* itself. The simple statement, *Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*, gives us, to be sure, no new information, but in its official setting, it emphasizes the fact that the poet who was to become the master of Tennyson's youth, and the solace of Gladstone's old age, was in the year 17 B.C. the acknowledged poet laureate of Rome.

¹ Cf. *Notizie degli Scavi*, January, 1892, p. 28.